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461 adolescents to perform their economic tasks. One of the cri-
581 teria by which a girl chooses a man for a lover or a husband
883 is his ability as a worker. Other things equal, the more indus-
trious a boy is, the more he is sought after by the girls. Lazy
lads are shunned. Mar, who was considered to be very lazy
and a poor worker, was not at all popular with the girls.

883 Industriousness on the part of the girl is an even more im-
461 portant criterion of attractiveness than for a boy. The big,
581 strapping women, who could carry large loads of produce or
832 firewood up the mountainside, and who could labor tirelessly,
were the females that caused Kwoma men to smack their lips
and make lewd comments. Marok's sister, U'ka, a powerfully
built woman, was considered the most attractive girl in the
hamlet. Her strength and industriousness were always men-
tioned as attributes of her desirability. Indeed, after her hus-
band left to work on a plantation, Marok had some difficulty
in preventing her suitors from ignoring her marriage and
taking her to live with them. She needed pressure from rela-
tives to keep her in line. Yawa, on the other hand, exemplifies
[594] what happens to a lazy girl. Before she went to live with
Mar as his betrothed,* she was affianced to another young
man. The engagement had been arranged by her parents,
but the boy and his family would not accept her because she
was so lazy. They treated her with such contempt that she
returned home. With Mar she fared little better. He once
complained to me: "Yawa is no good. She is terribly lazy.
When she is getting firewood, she just brings tiny twigs.
When she gets sago flour, she cuts down the smallest palms.
If she attempted a big one it would take her from dawn until
after dark. I have never had intercourse with her and I never
will, even if she stays here the rest of her life. If I did and
she had a baby, I would have to pay the bride-price. She is
not worth any."

461 Laziness is directly punished by social disapproval, indus-
626 triousness rewarded by social esteem and prestige. The cases
of Mar and Yawa also exemplify the application of these
sanctions. After Mar had delayed hanging stringers in his

[593] * Girls live for a few months with their parents-in-law before marriage.

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garden for almost a week, Gwiyap reprimanded him severely for his negligence, "You will not have any yam crop at all if you continue being so lazy." Other members of Mar's family and even less closely related persons began scolding him to his face and talking behind his back until he finally did the work.[10] Yawa suffered similar criticisms for her laziness. Not only did her negligence contribute to her lack of sexual gratification, but whenever she shirked her duties of gathering firewood or extracting sago flour both Mar and his *sisters* were openly critical of her. Thus economic work habits, although they are instrumental to the production of food and are thus primarily motivated by the hunger drive, are also culturally connected with both sexual satisfaction and the avoidance of punishment.

Pubescence brings with it a new sexual status for the male. His sexual drive, increasing rapidly in potential intensity, forces him into new learning dilemmas. He discovers new modes of gratifying the impulse, although he also persists in most of his previously learned habits. In addition to the prohibitions imposed during the weaning and infancy period, he must learn new restrictions against the behavior which will most immediately and directly reduce his sexual tension. He must also prepare for adult status by beginning to plan for marriage, since every adult Kwoma must marry.

There is some evidence that adolescent boys masturbate. Gwiyap reported that he stimulated his penis to the point of orgasm while in bed at night. He stated that he did this only when he was unobserved by others, which was not very often owing to Kwoma sleeping arrangements.[11] He was somewhat loath to give me this information and did so only after I had established strong rapport with him. He had previously denied it. Since all others whom I questioned denied masturbation, Gwiyap's behavior may have been aberrant. On the other hand, I was unable to establish such an

[10] Mar, as will be described later, had had a nervous breakdown the last time he had gone to his garden, so that his fear of returning was very strong. Considerable social pressure had to be applied to overcome this fear.

[11] The whole family sleeps in the enclosed room of the dwelling on separate bark slabs.

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Way's daughter, who was of his lineage, and Mes' sister, Aya, who was of the other lineage of the hamlet. The only girl on his list whom he did not call *sister* was Gwimpi, an attractive girl of about his age who belonged to another sib and whom he said he intended to marry. I asked him about Gwanta, the only girl of the hamlet in his age group who was not on his list. His face fell, and he said that she did not like him. Then he brightened and remarked that she was no good anyway. He went on to say that Mes' sister, Aya, was the best of all because she had a very large vagina. Again he cautioned me not to tell Mar about his escapades. I asked him what Mar would do if he found out and he replied: "He would beat me. No, he would not beat me, but I would be much ashamed." Two afternoons later he came in looking very proud of himself and boasted that he had just cohabited twice with Awa in their house. Mey came in as he was talking and Gwiyap stopped short, explaining later that he did not want Mey to know for fear he would tell Mar.

Toward the end of my stay at Kwoma, Gwiyap began an affair with Gwanta, the girl who had previously turned him down. One afternoon he came to my house greatly excited, saying that he had met Gwanta on the path and that she had told him that she was willing to have intercourse with him. He had given her younger brother two razor blades and told him to give one to Gwanta and keep the other himself, and to come and tell him when Gwanta went to the spring to get water so that he could meet her there. He said that he intended to ask her to come and sleep under Wysep's mosquito net. When he met her later that afternoon in her house, she agreed to this proposition; her younger brother said that he would come, too. Gwanta told him that he could not, asking him how many people he thought a mosquito net would hold.[16] Gwiyap also reported that she had refrained from calling him by his name.[17] Later in the evening I asked him if

[16] Gwiyap was apparently very indirect in his remarks so that neither the mother nor the brother of the girl suspected anything.

[17] It is the custom for engaged persons not to address one another by name.

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felt this with respect to a girl who was only a few years his senior, maintaining that he was not interested in her because she was too old for him.

A boy gains prestige from his sexual exploits. Although he must be careful not to tell anyone who might inform the girl's relatives, he frequently boasts of his conquests to those of his *brothers* with whom he is most intimate, unless, of course, the girl happens to be closely related to them. A lad who enjoys the reputation of being a successful philanderer gains the respect of his fellows. Although seldom praised to his face, he receives added motivation from hearing others complimented for their successful exploits.

A youth normally does not marry until he has undergone the ceremony which makes him an adult. He begins courting, however, during adolescence, and he is subject to all the restrictions which control the choice of a mate. Although a boy may successfully engage in secret philandering with a *sister*, open courtship and marriage would bring their relation under public obloquy. Incest and other marriage restrictions, therefore, influence a boy's choice more strongly in courtship than in philandering. His selection must be made from a relatively small number of persons. The prospective bride should be slightly younger than he, but must be already pubescent. She must be a member of some sib other than his own and not closely related to his *mother's brother*, *mother's sister*, *father's sister*, *sister's husband*, *wife*,[21] *friend*, or *ceremonial father*. Finally, she must be unmarried.

The Kwoma give a number of different reasons for their restrictions upon marriage between relatives. One of their rationalizations stems from their theory of reproduction. They believe that the foetus develops from a combination of the sperm of the man and the blood of the woman. They further believe that if a man and woman with the same sperm-blood combination should produce a child, he would be sickly and apt to die. This idea is related to their theory that the renewal of blood is necessary to growth and health. Since

[21] A man may not marry a relative of his first wife while she is still alive.

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liaison. Those who break the rule are most frequently neurotic individuals who dare not or cannot get a spouse from without the sib; this was the case with Mar and his betrothed, Yawa. Susceptibility to sorcery, that is frequent sickness, is regarded as an excuse for breaking the rule, since it is believed to be dangerous for such a person to have contacts outside the sib. Out of eighteen cases, only one marriage and one betrothal were between relatives. Both cases were between *brother* and *sister*, and in both there was no known blood connection.

Theoretically a boy's parents decide whom he shall marry. They discuss with the parents of a girl of the proper age the advantages of a marriage between their children, and often exchange small presents to formalize the betrothal if it is mutually agreeable. There is no set occasion when betrothals take place; usually they result from an informal conversation at the market or in the house tamberan. There is no prescribed age for betrothal. Parents usually do not arrange a marriage for their child until he has reached the age of puberty, although a betrothal may be agreed upon even during the infancy of the parties primarily concerned. There is nothing particularly binding about a betrothal. The exchange of gifts is balanced, so that, if the engagement is broken, neither family is the loser. Although betrothal binds neither boy nor girl to marriage, it is important enough so that they seriously consider one another as mates and only break the engagement if, for some reason, they feel a mutual antipathy.

More marriages result from actual courtship, which follows approved rules, than from betrothals arranged by the parents; sometimes they result from philandering. The woman takes the initiative in courting as well as in philandering, for here too the youth fears retaliation from the girl's relatives if he is too forward. Courtship is carried on during chance meetings on paths, or in visits to the house of the girl on the pretext of seeing her father or brothers. On these latter occasions the boy does not even speak to the girl, but shows off by making witty conversation with her brothers

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584 or parents. There is sometimes a sort of indirect conversation between the boy and girl when they both talk to the same person, and some of the bolder youths may even address the girl directly. In such cases, however, neither should mention the name of the other as this would be a breach of etiquette.

584 582 Mar's courtship of Aya exemplifies the sanctions directed against marriage with a relative. Mar and Aya were members of the same hamlet, but not of the same lineage. Despite the taboo on intra-sib marriage, Aya's brother had already married Mar's sister. Mar's betrothed, Yawa, was also a member of the same sib, so that if he married her and Aya he would be marrying girls who were related to one another as well as to himself, another reason for not courting Aya. The fact that Mar was neurotic presumably made his courtship somewhat atypical. The affair started when Aya asked Gwiyap if he wanted to marry her. He replied that he was too young but that his brother, Mar, was looking for a wife. Aya seemed to like this suggestion and offered some fish that she had bought to Mar's aunt. The latter refused to accept them and told Aya that she should know better than to make advances to a boy in her own sib. This rebuff did not stop the couple. Mar gave Aya a razor blade to show that he was seriously interested in her, and they made plans to marry despite the disapproval of their elders, even if they had to elope. Aya's father, Waramus, finally got wind of the affair and told Mar, in no uncertain terms, to stop courting his daughter. As a result of this tirade, Mar had what seemed [754] to be a nervous breakdown. He believed that his sickness re- [158] sulted from being sorcerized by Waramus. He was in bed for more than a week, stayed home for another week, and did not recover his full strength for almost a month. During this time, the affair with Aya lapsed.

When Mar had fully recovered from his sickness, he began thinking of Aya again, but this time he was more careful in his approach. He talked the matter over with his *paternal* [602] *uncles* (his father was not alive) and convinced them that it would be all right for him to marry Aya if Waramus would agree to it. In discussing the matter, they weighed the pros

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and cons carefully. The principal arguments against the match were that the two were of the same sib and that Mar was already engaged to a girl of his own hamlet. Mar and his supporters countered that, although he and Aya were of the same hamlet, they were of different lineages and were not very closely related. "Close enough to make their offspring sickly," argued those who were opposed to the match. The fact that Mar's sister had married Aya's brother was brought up as precedent, but was discounted because they had not as yet had any children. Someone suggested that it was probably because they were so closely related that they had had no children. A telling argument in favor of the match arose from the fact that Mar had not received the bride-price for his sister, and that if he married Aya this would cancel the debt, thus relieving a situation which usually leads to trouble —unpaid debts within the hamlet. Another argument in favor of the match was that Mar was lazy and susceptible to sorcery (the Kwoma way of describing a neurotic), so that he might have difficulty in finding a girl who would marry him. It therefore seemed advisable to allow him to accept any girl who would have him. Mar rebutted the argument that he was already affianced to a girl in the sib by saying that she was no good and that he would never marry her. The upshot of the whole discussion was that Mar's *paternal uncles* agreed to support him if Waramus was willing. One of Mar's *paternal uncles* sounded Waramus out and discovered that, although he was not pleased with the idea, he would agree if Mar paid him a certain amount of bride-price in addition to canceling the debt owed for Mar's sister.

Mar was delighted with the prospect that the marriage might take place, and he became very friendly with Aya's brother. They went hunting together, helped each other gardening, bleached one another's hair, and even began to build a canoe together. Mar made plans to elope with Aya because he did not have enough money to pay the bride-price in advance as Waramus insisted. He arranged with two of his *sisters* to go fishing with Aya. He was to meet them, and then he and Aya would go to their bush house until Waramus

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afraid of So-and-so: "His sister likes me, and he cannot stop me from philandering with her. I am a hard man."

The persons who have, or attempt to have, affairs with a boy's *sister* constitute another category of persons who menace him. The danger in this case is not that of physical injury but rather the threat that the value of his *sister* may be depreciated, leaving him less money with which to pay for a wife of his own. A boy is not only supported by his community for reacting aggressively toward his *sister's* lover, he is punished by them if he does not. Custom limits, however, the amount of aggression that he may show. If he oversteps these bounds, he loses the support of his own relatives. The socially expected reaction when a boy discovers that someone has been making free with his *sister* is to retaliate in kind, that is, to philander with a *sister* of his antagonist. He is also expected to shout insults at the latter, to challenge him to a fight (which never eventuates), and to threaten to kill him if he persists. If he catches a lover *in flagrante delicto* with his *sister*, the boy is expected to attack him physically. He may even kill him, but it is wiser not to do so since such an act would certainly precipitate a feud.

Even in courtship the father and *brothers* of the girl are a source of danger. They stand in judgment over the suitor and his actions. If they do not approve of him, they seriously interfere with his desires. His reaction toward them is a combination of aggression and avoidance. To their face he is alternately friendly and jokingly aggressive; behind their back he may show marked hostility. When Waramus interfered with Mar's courtship of his daughter Aya, Mar accused him behind his back of being a sorcerer and said that he was going to challenge him to a fight. Several times he expressed the intention of "punching Waramus in the nose," and once he told me that he would like to go down and spear the man while he slept. In his face-to-face relations with Waramus, however, Mar was polite to the point of obsequiousness.

Gwiyap's behavior toward the relatives of his betrothed,

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882 Gwimpi, exemplifies Kwoma custom in this respect. One day
584 he told me that Nowel, Gwimpi's brother, had insulted him,
602 and added: "If that Nowel comes around here again, I am
578 going to beat him up. You won't be angry with me if I give him a good licking, will you?" The threatened fight never occurred. Although Gwiyap spoke sneeringly of Nowel several times thereafter when the latter was not present, he was especially friendly to him whenever they were together. A month or so later he began addressing Nowel by the brother-in-law term. The latter would protest at this and deny the relationship. On one occasion Nowel's *paternal uncle* was present, overheard Gwiyap addressing Nowel in this way, and asked him the reason for it. Gwiyap replied: "I am going to marry your niece. Have you anything to say about it? If you don't like it, I will fight you." (Gwiyap was much smaller than the man whom he was challenging.) The uncle laughed indulgently at the threat and jokingly replied, "You are talking pretty big for a child." That evening Gwiyap asked my help in case a fight should result, but nothing came of the matter.

Fear of retaliation prevents a boy from being seriously aggressive toward his future relatives-in-law. They stand as a unit against him, whereas his own relatives will not support him in any unwarranted aggression. If the relatives of the girl do not exceed their rights, a boy is not considered justified in going farther than in the case reported above. Possibly another reason why a boy is inhibited from direct expression of his hostility toward his future in-laws is that the punishment he has received in the past for being aggressive toward his own father and *brothers* has generated anxiety which is generalized to this new situation.[40]

882 An adolescent boy may be frustrated by the girls whom
836 he flirts with or courts. His sexual wishes or his desire for
602 marriage may be blocked because the girl is not interested in
578 him. He must submit to this frustration, for to express his aggression would evoke retaliation from the girl's relatives.

[787] [40] Mar, directly after Waramus insulted him, had a nightmare in which his father tried to take his soul.

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[1] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tambaran during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[1] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

412 [492] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowery bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, 301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pigred but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the naval. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 584 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 847 845 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal 583 591 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

611 595 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted 794 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are [532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [534] miniena or yenama; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

124 against Mar if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Gviyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Ear came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be renewed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came [583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Gviyap, Fit, Afi, and May would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight [752] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was 123 almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Gviyap 431 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca 437 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The 276 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are [262] either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

000 is sold to us. When the Tangwishamp bring <u>favombi</u>, they expect a knife for
435 a bunch containing 20 or 30 nuts, the equivalent of 2 large bunches of
276 bananas, or a net bag of yams.)

754 Mar, Waramus, Way, Wof, and Kar have gone to Sowinambi's for <u>sungs</u>
<u>hafasmeni</u> (sorcery court). Mas and May came back from shooting with one
gouria pigeon. May left his net bag and found a bundle of nettles in it.
826 Mas explained that May got them to scrape his penis to make it and him
856 grow. Later I asked May what they were. He laughed, embarrassed and
would not answer. "Something bilong me". Owiyap explained that this was
the "fashion of monkis" -- that he was big "finish" and did not do it any
more.

685 May reported this afternoon that Pit had stolen a knife from his net
bag and gone to his mother's.

838 Kar came up tonight, played the homosexual game with Owiyap, and put
him down, spread his legs apart and spit on his penis--much to the delight
of all. Mas berated May for running away and not helping Owiyap "fashion
no good." Yat came at supper time, and he, Marok and Kar ate most of the
595 gouria pigeon. Kar is making arrangements to get a third wife. Mar is
kidding him about it.

Owiyap heard that Omwi, Sowinambi's daughter, on whom he had designs,
584 said that if he married the Urembanj girl to whom he was bethrothed she would
kill her. This pleased Owiyap who said he was going to break his engagement
with the girl from Urembanj.

752 Enos was playing with a cold cartridge, lighting the powder. I had
demonstrated burning gun powder at noon. It did not light at once when he tried
it, so he leaned over to blow it, and it went off, burning his face badly, closing
both eyes. Mas had warned him. They all blamed him, scolded him for being careless,

752 and showed little or no sympathy -- sort of "It's not my fault -- I told you to be careful. If I sympathize with you, people may think I'm to blame."

123 [562] After supper I went down to Mar's. Way's wife, two daughters, and Uga and Mar's sisters were there, sitting around the fire talking. Uga made a remark that I was too big a man (harape ne mayaka) to be coming into a gathering of women. We sat for a while and exchanged pleasantries, and then I went to the house tamberan. Most of the Rumbima were there. The

123 726 talk soon turned to the raid. Voices were lowered and there was an air of excitement, particularly from Kis, Kar, and Mas. War was the ring leader. Mas told me later that Tangwishamp and Amagi had recently made a raid on Sawa Urambanj, and they were living about in the bush in small groups. They are still planning to attack. War is still after Mas to get my shotgun. Yat tried to throw me off the track by telling me they were talking about food.

123 I came back to find Wof at my house. He was very glum. Hay said he had been that way ever since sunga mwani at Sow's.

584 754 Owiyap said it was difficult to get a wife at Waskuk. They were not like Malu and Yambon -- that they were "poisoners true"-- even if you stared at a woman on the road, she would be likely to tell her relatives and they would make poison against you.

584 583 Mar said that his affair with Uka was put off for a couple of days -- the arrangement was that Mas would get Owuta in exchange. Yatamiaj, Kar, Kis and War would get her bride price; Mas, Dawa and Afa would get Uka's.

513 wife. They are only in bed together to have intercourse and then sleep
593 by themselves.
[833]
262 After supper I went down to Mar's. He was eating soup. He had
584 consumed most of a small saucepan (2 quarts). He said he was thinking of Aya. I said, "Well, why don't you get her?" He said he would like to, but Wey had forbidden him. I said, "Why, are you afraid of what the big men say?" Gwimp said, "Yes master." Mar is always afraid of what the big men say. "I'm not the same. If it had been me, I'd have married Aya a long time ago."

123 I hadn't been at Mar's long, before Wof sang out asking who was looking
685 out for my house. I said no one, and he told me I had better return or
754 someone would steal something. I told him everything was locked up and stayed. He grumbled for a while, and after about five minutes he sang out that he was going there. I followed. He got a firebrand and looked around the house and then gave me a lecture on the danger of leaving my house unguarded. In the first place my stuff would be stolen, and in the second, there was danger of sorcery being worked, and I and my house boys would all die. If I had a door which I could fasten, it would be all right, but since I had not, I shouldn't leave my house unattended, particularly at night. I said that it was raining, and I didn't think anyone would be abroad. He told me it made no difference -- that there were apt to be prowlers at any time. Then he said he was not cross with me but merely smuto maani (explaining things) to me for my own good.

593 Wof said he had been to Koriasi and gathered pay from his sister.
"Big fela more" --they had carried Mwy's pig and Mamk's yams.

123 Then Wof asked me if I would give him an gouria pigeon to make soup
to pay for lopping down trees in his garden. He stressed the fact that
114 he was my laka (elder sibling). I said I would. The kerosene is almost gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

000 gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

123 April 20, 1937. Mar came up with Kis from his house this morning (he had been up before and gone back), and the two of them said they wanted some of the strong medicine I gave Mar when he had poison. Mar said he had a pain in his stomach. I was busy for the moment. Later I got 2 empirin tablets--Kis took one but Mar said he didn't want his. Mar told me afterwards that Kis was beginning to think that the sore on his leg was due to poison.

[754]

241 Eriye has gone to her mother's. She left when the group went to Koriasi. Her mother sent word that she needed help gathering the brush from her husband's garden.

584 I asked Mar this afternoon about Aya. He said that Way had forbidden the arrangements--that he was afraid War would make poison. War did not like the idea of the match. The affair had come up before (I reported it several months ago). Mar had asked Mas about it, and he had said "no got". He (Mas) had told his father about it, and this had been the time when they had shouted back and forth. I asked him why War had prevented him, and he said he did not know. 'Nevermind Aya; I'll catch another wife somewhere.' There is one at Koriasi whom he 'marked' a couple of months ago and spoke to her father about. He was sort of resigned and whining about the affair--shook his head and sighed.

581 Then Mar complained about Tawa--she was lazy, didn't have strong bones. Firewood "lik lik in brok im". If she goes to break sago, she buts a little tree. A big one would take her until after dark. I asked him if he had had intercourse with her yet. He said no. If she was a good wife, it would be all right. He would have long ago had she been the same as Aya, but since she was no good, he wouldn't; and then he wouldn't have to pay for her. He said he might never have intercourse with her until she died. She had

126 I spent the afternoon drawing the house tamberan. Way, Yat, Kis and
000 War were sitting in the Police House, War working a ngasa from limbon. Kis was working on Kar's ngasa. At about 3:30, Way got up and worked on his gong. War came over and discussed it with him. Wof visited me--Yat went to Marok's and the two went to Soubundura. Pokotay and Afok came up just before sunset.

123 This morning Kum was in the "kai kai" room while I was working--he asked me for a cigarette butt. I told him he was karagarda yikafa; he was preoccupied for a moment and then, still preoccupied, kicked me and then turned to other things. For the last couple of days he has come up to me and pulled my arm about--I have resisted him a little, and he has gritted his teeth and yanked and seemed to get great pleasure from moving it.

836 Owiyap just came back from the house tamberan at 8 p.m. I asked him if he thought Owanta would come up--he said he didn't know. He was not as excited tonight as he was this afternoon; I feel he doesn't believe she'll come.

754 Then he said he wanted to make poison against Way and that he wanted to
584 marry Owanta. I remarked she was his nowa. He said nevermind, she was nowa="nothing" (sumba sumba nowa--real sister is nowa sakana).

April 23, 1937. Owiyap has gone down to Yat's, so he says, obviously to
754 get a glimpse of Owanta. She did not come last night. War, Way and a group from Wanyi went by with spears to a sorcery court at Bowinanbi's. His wife is still sick.

863 Kaya just scolded Kum for defecating close to the house. "You clean it up; if you do it again I'll spank you." Now he has run away. Kaya is calling and looking for him and has sent Way in search for him. Chinawa and Wof have gone to scrape sago, and Kaya is staying at the house. Owiyap and Way searched in vain but came back after a short while.

October 25, 1936.

115 Mar is becoming tired of our continued questioning lately and will sometimes pretend not to hear us when we call him to verify the pronunciation of some word. He is apt to walk out of the room the minute we pause in our questioning. Yesterday we spent half an hour trying to get the Kwoma word for nose, but could not make him understand what we wanted although we tried innumerable methods of trying to obtain the information.

October 29, 1936.

[584] This afternoon Mar went up the hill for a while. When he returned he was quite excited and said he had been looking at a woman whom he might later have for a wife. He was dancing around with a broad grin on his face.

November 15, 1936.

[123] Lately Mar has taken to calling us papa. This happened after we arranged a kinship relation with Gwiyap, May and ourselves, but Mar has done this without suggestion from us.

Yesterday there was talk of a fight with Tengwishamp. Most of the Kwoma men were gathered to talk things over, but Mar did not go. We asked him why not and he was quite positive about not wanting to fight.

[114] The other evening Yet was in, and we talked of going to Yesen, a river tribe above Yambon. Gwiyap said he would take us there. We asked Mar if he would like to come, but he said no. When we went to Ambunti, May and Gwiyap wanted to go with us, but Mar again said he would stay and take care of our house. Neither did he want to go to Wogu (a tribe across the river we were planning to visit) with us.

November 17, 1936.

*115 [584] [123] Mar asked me for a razor blade to give Aya. She has indicated that she wants to get married, and Mar feels he has a good chance of winning her. Aya is the daughter of War, who lives not far from Mar's house. War is a highly respected member of the sib, a man of about 50, and noted for sorcery. Aya [582] is an attractive girl of 17. Mar and Aya have no traceable common ancestor, so no incest rules apply to their relationship, but they are both members of the same sib, and marriage of such is definitely frowned upon.

November 21, 1936.

*115 578 582 Just after I had gone to bed, Mar began shouting excitedly back and forth with someone down the mountainside. Then he came in and sat next to my bed. He explained that he had been arguing with War. The latter found out about Mar's intentions with Aya. He had just shouted angrily at Mar, "You stay away from my daughter. You are nothing but an excrement eater. Do you think that I am going to let her marry someone from the same sib?" When Mar told me this he asked plaintively, "Do you think that I am an excrement eater." I reassured him. Mar then bit his underlip, raised his hand and shook it as though he were balancing a spear, saying, "That damn War! I am going to fight him tomorrow and break his nose." "Why don't you do it now, Mar?" "It's too dark, but I'll do it tomorrow." The fight did not eventuate. (War's objection to Mar as a husband for Aya was that they are members of the same sib, and such a marriage is frowned upon.)

November 29, 1936.

*115 A week or so ago Oviyap turned over a girl to Mar. She evidently did
[584] not like the exchange, for she told him that she would marry him only if he
[123] gave her a razor blade. Mar came to ask me for this. I asked if he wasn't going to give it to her, but he said, "No, tomorrow."

December 4, 1936.

*115 Fit ran up to us saying that Mar lay dying at the bush house. We packed
123 medicine and made the arduous trip there as fast as we could. His fiancee and sisters were there, and Mar was lying on a bark bed moaning. He seemed unable to talk but only to groan inarticulately. We took his temperature which was normal and his pulse was slow but strong. We asked him where
[754] the pain was, but he shook his head. His uncle diagnosed the case as sorcery and said, "Well, if he dies he will die, that's all." This elicted a groan from Mar. When we said that we had some medicine which would counteract sorcery, Mar lifted his head and looked at us. We gave him some eno's salts and then suggested going home as the bush house was damp and lonely. We tried to get him to stand up but with no success. We told him to lie down for a while first, which he did, remaining practically inarticulate but noticing everything that went on. If something happened behind him he would turn his head quickly to look at it. The only thing that seemed to cheer him at all was our saying that we were strong and poison could not
*115 hurt us or any of our friends. While we were still there, War sent Fit for
123 nettle leaves. These he got and War arranged them in a sort of cone, held
755 them in his hand, and blew in them for a while, muttering or whispering a sort of prayer or exortation. Then he approached Mar and told him to stand up. We helped him to his feet. War then rubbed the leaves first on Mar's chest and then on his legs. Mar gasped and his legs stiffened. He groaned a little but said nothing and made no attempt to stop the process.

#115 ten minutes and a while later I went down to his house. He was sitting up and for the first time conversed with me. We talked about Mundik. He said if Mundik were to come near his house, he would shoot him with a spear. I finally asked him if he thought that the poison was gone and he said that he thought so--that he felt all right.

December 17, 1936.

Mar is practically recovered.

December 30, 1936.

Mar came to the government station at Ambunti with Owiyap, Yat, Ham and several others. They said that they were coming to see me and also because Mar wanted to have a few bad sores on his ankles attended to. He was treated and committed to the house because he was sick. He stayed there only one day day the next day ran back to Rumbims.

[123] [657]

January 17, 1937.

[584] Mar told me that he has decided to get another wife. He talked to War, who gave him condition to marry his daughter if the bride price were paid. I asked Mar if he had asked War directly, but he said that he hadn't , but that he had Kis act as go-between.

[123] The white trader and recruiter is coming soon. Mar told me of the things he wanted to buy but then sighed because he had no money. I had given Owiyap some money to purchase something, so I also gave Mar three shillings. The next day a river native came up with some shell money. (Shell money is the medium of exchange used for the bride price; any other kind of money is not accepted.) Mar rushed up to me and wanted to know if he should buy some. I told him it was his business. After sitting and fidgeting and asking me again for a while, he finally made his decision and rushed down the hill and bought some. There was another bit he could have purchased with an additional shilling which he tried

[436] [583] [123]

[123]

*115 household and then had a long conversation with War's son, Mee, a lad of his own age.

[802] He and Mee put a bleaching mixture on each other's hair--lime, water
*115 and foyimake leaf. I did not see him look at Aye once nor did he speak to
584 her beyond a word of greeting. After we left and were out of sight he exclaimed excitedly, "Did you see my girl? Ai yo ha ha ha hoiyo," he shouted. Then he put his thumb in his mouth and danced on one foot and exploded in a loud voice, "I think I'll get her. Never mind about sorcery". Then contracting his brows and looking at the ground, "Yes, I think so. I don't know." Later after we had returned to my house, he spoke of his fiancee once again and said that she was good and had a good vagina (laughter). If he went away, another man might get her. If so, he would break his lime gourd and clay pot and go up to the house tamberan and beat the gong for that man to come. Then he would fight him, punch him in the nose and then in the ear. "Yes (as if I had said I did not believe him) if I stay I can look out for her, but this place is no good, and if I stay I will be sorcerised", Mar said. "What are you going to give me when you go--some money?" I told him yes and he added, "I guess I'll give it to War and then no one else can get her. She's a good girl. Oh! War. " Then I said something which he misconstrued as a suggestion to go to War's house and sleep with Aye. Mar exclaimed, "No, no; if I went there, War would shoot me with a spear. (Pause). I think I'll take your rifle and shoot War. Yes!" (As though I doubted it).

*115 Before leaving, Mar warned me not to sleep at night unless I have my rifle by my side as there were some strangers walking around today with spears. He told me to sleep, and he would leave, but I still had work to do so he decided to finish his pipe and then go. Mar started at a noise outside and in a loud voice he asked, "What is that, a ghost ? Who is that walking

*115 about?" No answer. It was a lizard on the roof. "All the Kwoma are having
[823] intercourse now", Mar volunteered. Another pause, and "Tomorrow I will go
to my bush house". I asked him if he had work to do but he said "No,
I'll just go there. When I told him to go ahead, he added that he didn't
intend to go but was only fooling. "I'll stay here and help you." There
was another noise at which Mar jumped up and decided to go but first requested
a lantern which I didn't give him. He left, but a few minutes later he
returned saying he had forgotten the file he was going to borrow. "I saw
a ghost on the way but I chased it away. Yes." He took the file and went.
February 6, 1937.

*115 Mar's mother scolded him severely for going to the house of War and
584 stressed sorcery danger as the reason. Mar answered that I went with
[593] him so that it was all right. This evening he spoke to me of Aya; I asked
[754] him what was the matter with Waya, his fiancee. He replied that she
was lazy, weak, unattractive and that her genitals were no good either.
March 3, 1937.

I went to War's house with Gwiyap and Mar at the latter's suggestion.
As we approached the house Mar called out for Nas who was not there.
Gwiyap knew it but had not said anything. Mar made some remarks as if
he was rather surprised and rather annoyed that Nas was not there. He
was obviously going to see the sister. He approached the house still
talking in this vein so the mother who was there could hear. He did not
go in the porch but stood up outside. Gwiyap paused before going in but
finally went in and sat down.

587 Later that day Mar told me that Wanyakowa was first married to Wonuma
837 and by him had Degaramanu. When her husband died she went to live with
Yat. He went to work for the whites and Daguwur took care of her. One
day she went to get firewood and Daguwur followed her. When she was leaning

[i.e., probably Mrs.-analyst]

*115 This afternoon however, Mar was very elated, striding about and talking
584 in a loud voice. He said that Mee has agreed to act as a go-between to ask
[759] Aye to meet him in the bush house. One of Mar's brothers warned him to be careful in his friendship with Mee (Mar has been joking with Mee alot lately) because he is susceptible to sorcery. His older brother died from it, and he, Mar, has had several attacks.

March 13, 1937.

Mar and the rest of his household do not like Yawa, his fiancee, but she says that she does not want to leave despite the fact that he has not had intercourse with her and that she has not cooked for him yet.

April 11, 1937.

*115 I arrived back from a short trip and found Mar lying flat on the floor
787 of my house, looking very ill and able to speak only in monosyllables.
602 His 'brothers' said that he could not talk. They explained that last
753 night they were at my house bandying words with their 'sisters' who were standing just outside. Awa taunted Mar saying that his hair was naturally white, not white because he had bleached it. Mar had grabbed a stick and rushed out after her. He had gone only a short way when he fell to the ground, apparently dead. When he had recovered enough to talk, he explained that he had met his father's ghost who had asked him why he was going to beat his 'sister', forbade him, and knocked him to the ground in a trance. His father's ghost had struggled with his (Mar's) soul and tried to take it back with him to the land of the dead, but Mar's soul had finally won out. He had lain, apparently insensate, on the ground for a long time. Chinowe, his paternal uncle's wife, pounded him, but got no reaction. Owiyap, Mey and Fit got sticks and chased the ghost away. Finally, Mar came to enough to go to my house. His 'brothers' stayed awake all night with sticks in their hands and made frequent sallies with them to show the ghost they were serious. Half an hour after I arrived, Mar had

*115 787 602 753 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot of the mountain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough. He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left then to get it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.

April 13, 1937.

*115 [754] When Nar, Afok, Fokotay, Dawangi and Yat went to blow flutes, Mar and Mes decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerised and had to work--get firewood and wash sago.

April 14, 1937.

*115 156 [643] The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid on a neighboring tribe. I asked Mar if he were going with them and he said, "No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman, that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind." He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mes asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble.

[123]

April 15, 1937.

*115 584 [123] Again Mar has said he has made an arrangement with Mbwimbwi, Gwanta and Pambe to get Mes' sister, Aya, to go to a certain place to catch fish. Mar will meet them there and take Aya to his garden house. He doesn't want me to tell Mes and thinks I should protect him again Mar if he makes a fuss--to say that it was Aya's idea.

*115 582 After supper Yat, Mar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Mar it was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

*115 582 be no good. Mar's response to this is: "Never mind the blood. Come on up here. If you want to stop me you'll have to fight me."

April 16, 1937.

*115 584 583 Mar decided to put off his plan to see Aya until a later day, but he satisfied Yat's objections with a plan of having Mas marry Yat's daughter which would mean that the latter would receive the bride price.

April 17, 1937.

*115 583 Plans for the elopement are progressing--it is arranged for tomorrow.

April 18, 1937.

Marok, another of Mar's uncles and potential protectors, has gone on a trip and Mar decided to wait to elope until he returns.

April 19, 1937.

This evening after supper I went to Mar's. I asked him about the delay in their plan. He says that he would like to carry on but that his uncles Way and Yat have told him not to.

April 20, 1937.

[754] Today it seems that the whole affair with Aya is off. His uncles Yat and Way warned him about the dangers of sorcery, and Mar said, "Never mind about Aya; I'll get another girl."

April 25, 1937.

*115 648 464 [602] [754] [614] I left Kwoma and Mar went with me. After a good deal of hesitation, he has signed on with the recruiter to work for three years on a plantation. Mas and Oriyap signed on also. His uncles were very much against his going-they warned him of the dangers of sorcery and told him that he must stay to do the work of the sib, but Mar left nevertheless.

November 29, 1936.

115 883 584 About a week ago Oriyap and Tip were down at the market place watching the women trading. A girl came up to Oriyap and talked with him. He then told Tip that she wanted to marry him, but that he had refused and said he was too young to have a wife. Later in the day it turned out that he had turned his option on her over to Mar. In telling me about the situation he said that plenty of girls wanted to marry him but that he was not interested.

The night before last he dreamed of a great deal of food being brought to him in a mat bag.

115 836 123 Yesterday when I was talking to him, I asked if he had ever had intercourse. He was noncommital, "Me no savvy"; I mentioned that I had, and to make it sound convincing, listed several names. He was very much interested and wanted to know if the girls' fathers would be cross if they found out. I told him we kept it secret. Then he wanted to know what would happen if one of the girls should have a child. I told him that we had a machine to prevent that. That evening when he came up after supper I began pumping him about ghosts and as soon as there was a lull in the conversation he broke in with a tale of his escapades. He named three girls, three of them from his sib, as well as Mar's sister, with whom he had had intercourse--both in the bush and in the house. He told this in great glee and added, "Fashion belong me all the same you"(my customs are the same as yours). When he told me of Mar's sister, he made me promise not to tell Mar about it.

January 26, 1937.

*115 593 I asked Owiyap if his father was a hard man. "Man! hard felo lik lik!" (That's putting it mildly!") Did his father ever beat him? "Yes." Once he had asked his father for pig's meat. His father had replied that he didn't have any. Owiyap had cried, and his father had beaten him. Owiyap later grabbed a spear to shoot his father, but Mar's older brother had [604] prevented him. Another time his mother had been cross with him and he had run away and stayed with his nen (mother's brother) for several days until his mother had finally come and taken him back. He often went and stayed with Mar, who was his chief playmate even though he was older.

January 28, 1937.

*115 787 Owiyap had a dream last night that he and Mar and I were going down the hill to the market place on the way to work for the white man, followed by a group of women. When we reached the foot of the hill and got into a canoe to go out to a pinnace which was waiting, the women wanted to go too and started to get into the canoe. We said that they must stop, whereupon they wailed and broke their lime gourds. We got on the pinnace and went down the river as far as Angoram, where we got onto the Montoro, which Owiyap thought was "big tu mas (big too much). I asked him who the women were who had followed, and he said, "O, altogeder mari" (oh, all the women). Then he mentioned particularly his sisters and mother and Mar's sisters.

February 2, 1937.

*115 *584 883 Owiyap has met Way's daughter at night and today met Sowinambi's daughter on the way to Soubundum. She called him aside and said she had heard he was leaving with me but that she would wait for his return and would marry no one else. He said all right. He told me that plenty of girls would like to marry him--"plenti felo mari i laik getup long mi " When we discussed her waiting for him and the fact that he didn't intend to

*115 marry her at all he thought that she would probably be married by the time
*584 he returned; if not he would marry her.
883

February 3, 1937.

*115 The sore on Owiyap's leg, which developed when we were still at
752 Ambunti, still does not heal properly, and looks pretty bad. Several times
123 before he has suggested going in to the station. We was going in today
657 to meet Tip so I decided to send Owiyap. I told him last night and at first he agreed to go, but then he began to think of reasons why he should not go. I insisted. This morning he again tried to get out of it, saying that Mar had told him to wait for him. I looked at him, and he grinned sheepishly and said, "All right, I'll go."

Summary made February 11, 1937.

128 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarise the culture
133 briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Peilungua range. The Sepik River runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a S, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing.
[132] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden
241 plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1520 ft. above sea level.

March 4, 1937.

115 787 123 Owiyap had a dream last night that Bob Overall had come and that I was to go with him. He asked Owiyap if he were going with him, to which Owiyap replied, "no." Bob gave him two shillings and a bottle of peroxide. I told him to give them back, for I was his master and would instead give it to him.

March 8, 1937.

115 572 765 Owiyap inherited Yatafauf as a naremboi (friend) but chose Amasay. When a friend dies, the number 1 naremboi gets the jaw bone; number 2 the clavicle; and number 3 the arm bone.

834 831 Kavas came in this morning with an erection. Owiyap said that if a woman saw him thus she would slap his penis with her hand or with a stick. Girls may beat their brothers when they have an erection. If an adult has an erection in front of females he would be very ashamed.

584 Owiyap reports that Mar's fiancee has not cooked for him yet and that he has not had intercourse with her. He does not like her nor do any of the others in the household, but she says she does not want to leave; she says she likes Mar and does not want to marry anyone else. Mar wishes he were married now, for May's son, who is younger than he is already married.

March 23, 1937.

115 857 When Owiyap was a child Mar made a house in the woods where they would play. Mar would steal yams from his father and they would cook them. Owiyap would steal tobacco for them to smoke. Girls would not come there. They would cut nodes of bamboo and play at beating a gong. Their fathers would warn them to look out that they were not sorcerised by sunga kapa (black magic). Their mothers were within calling distance of them (the houses were built near home.)

#115 291 (Later) He has been walking around without his "lap lap," saying it is a "gud felo fashion."

April 16, 1937.

#115 584 Gwiyap heard that Cawi, Sowinambi's daughter on whom he has designs, said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was betrothed she would kill her. This pleases Gwiyap. He said that he was going to "break talk" (break his betrothal).

April 21, 1937.

583 768 593 604 Gwiyap has not paid the large indemnity, na fander ya which is about half the bride price, for his mother's death because her brothers did not look out for her good. He therefore has broken the relationship between her brothers.